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Gregg, David L.
Oration, delivered
July 4th, 1854, at Honolulu.

1854.





Class E286

Book H77

1854





ORATION,

DELIVERED JULY 4, 1854,

AT

HONOLULU,

BY

HON. DAVID L. GREGG,

U. S. COMMISSIONER.



HONOLULU.

1854.

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NOTE.—The Committee of Publication have deemed it proper to insert in the body of the Oration, notes in parentheses, showing the manner of its reception by the audience to which it was delivered. Two or three notes are also added, explanatory of references which might otherwise appear unintelligible to the general reader.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

HONOLULU, 6th July, 1854.

SIR:—It is our honorable duty, as a committee by appointment, to make known to you that the following resolution was passed by an unanimous vote, after the delivery of the Oration, on the 4th inst., at the Celebration of American Independence.

“*Resolved*, That the thanks of the American residents be tendered to the Hon. David L. Gregg, for the very eloquent, patriotic and independent oration delivered this day; and that a copy of the same be requested for publication in English and Hawaiian, for gratuitous distribution.”

Requesting your acceptance of the thanks tendered, the Committee would express their earnest wish that you should comply with the desire of the American residents, by furnishing us with a copy of the oration for publication.

We have the honor to remain your obedient servants,
BARNUM W. FIELD,
EDWIN O. HALL,
RICHARD COADY.

Hon. D. L. GREGG, U. S. Commissioner, &c., &c., &c., Honolulu.

HONOLULU, July 8, 1854.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 6th inst., and, as requested, to place in your hands for publication, a copy of the discourse pronounced by me on the late anniversary of American Independence.

I am grateful to my countrymen for the kind manner in which they have testified their approval of my humble effort to do justice to the men and the principles of the Revolution of 1776. I only claim the credit of a disposition to express and carry out, on all suitable occa-

sions, the sentiments and policy which become an American citizen, yielding to the "rest of mankind" a proper and considerate courtesy, but never submitting to the arrogance of those who hate our free institutions, and make it the business of their lives to misrepresent, to vilify and bring them into contempt. To such persons, whoever they may be, I profess no obligations, and for them feel no respect. If what I thought it incumbent on me to say, places the stamp of falsehood on their conduct, the fault is their own,—not mine. It is enough for me to enjoy your sympathy and confidence, and that of my fellow countrymen. I ask no prouder distinction than that of an American citizen, and desire no higher earthly approval than such as comes from those who boast the same glorious privilege.

Tendering, through you, my sincere thanks to the American residents of Honolulu, and the many who joined them, on the 4th, in honoring the principles of the Declaration of Independence,

I remain your obedient servant,

DAVID L. GREGG.

To Messrs. FIELD, HALL and COADY, Committee &c.

ORATION.

Seventy-eight years have rolled away, since the Declaration, to which you have just listened, was promulgated! It is now the acknowledged symbol of that wide-spread political creed, which confides in the power of humanity to appreciate its own wants and regulate its own interests.

Seventy-eight years, Americans, have passed over the existence of our native land. Seventy-eight years! In the life of nations, a mere point, yet fraught with the hopes, the happiness and the destiny of countless generations beyond it!

How many events affecting the welfare of mankind, are crowded within the last seventy-eight years! How many of the most brilliant pages of history have been filled up by the recital of their marvelous incidents! What mutations have been experienced in the old world, as well as in the new, by dynasties and subjects, by rulers and people! But strange and wonderful as these events appear, the most wonderful of them all afford no parallel to the rise and progress of the United States of America.

This is the subject which engages your thoughts, and upon which I am expected to address you. On this day, it is the right of Americans to review their national history, to indulge in congratulations, and to express the joy with which their hearts are filled. They may then, if ever, judge of men and manners, times and things, from their own peculiar point of view, regretting, if they are so disposed, that all the world is not blessed with optics sharp enough to see them in the same light. If Brother Jonathan cannot boast to his heart's content, on the Fourth of July, of the immense superiority of "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle," over every other species of melody under the sun, then it is clear, not only that his vaunted independence is a mere shadow, but that he wants the spirit of his very friendly, but

withal somewhat gruff old step-father, John Bull! (*Applause,--at the conclusion of which, the band struck up "Yankee Doodle."* When the music had ceased, Mr. Gregg said, "*Ah! my friends, you appreciate Yankee Doodle, as I do. There is nothing like it in the world! It is the true melody of freedom,—it stirs up our hearts from their inmost depths!—Long, long, may it wave!*" *Renewed and continued applause.*)

Seventy-eight years ago, the inefficiency and oppressions of colonial government forced the people of the original thirteen States to throw off the yoke which held them in subjection, and assert the inalienable right of self-protection. Confidently appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, they dared to enter the lists, in a contest whose fearful odds against them might well have appalled the stoutest heart. But their blows were not struck in vain. Heaven never looks with averted eye upon a righteous cause, or long permits justice to be trodden under foot. Friends rose up in the hour of need;—bravery and skill were of no avail against a people contending for home, for fireside and for freedom.—Though for seven long years the conflict was protracted, it at length resulted in the prostration of servitude forever. Independence was gained, the principle of self-government was vindicated, and thenceforth, a new name, betokening liberty and strength, was inscribed upon the list of nations. (*Applause.*)

Contrast, for a moment, the old condition of things with the new. See the wide difference between colonial vassalage and independence. As colonies, the American States were weak and feeble dependencies. Rulers with alien sympathies and interests, controlled their destiny. Industry languished,—commerce stood still,—prosperity was on the wane. Position was nothing, and natural advantages of but little avail, so long as the immediate interest of distant authority did not prompt their development. Their whole administrative policy was defective, having no dependence upon the people, and being incapable, from the isolation of its agents, of fulfilling the true ends of government. It became, as such a policy always will, a source of discontent, of constant grievance, of absolute oppression; and amply justified, before God and man, the violence by which it was subverted.—(*Applause.*) No government can long be beneficial, when its sympathies and action are dictated by a cabinet separated by oceans from

its subjects; and hence it is that colonies always occupy the position of servants of a household, who must be content with the remnants of the feast, or the crumbs which fall from their master's table, instead of the full repast which the children are permitted to enjoy. (*Applause.*)

Freedom from the control of foreign masters was the immediate consequence of the Revolution. Thenceforth, the attributes of sovereignty were exercised by those to whom they rightfully belonged. There was a community of interest between the plain citizen and his compeer, who for the time being, was invested with the dignity of official station. No clashing of purpose existed between them, for the highest good of both depended upon the same considerations, and demanded a concurrence of sentiment and of policy. The exactions of Government, if such they might be called, were imposed by the free consent of the governed, and for their benefit alone;—not to enrich swarms of officers sent from abroad to eat out their substance. Representation and taxation went together,—the administration of justice was unobstructed,—the supremacy of the civil power was established,—trade was no longer restricted,—legislation was free and enlightened to enact laws for the public good.

As if touched by the enchanter's wand, the thirteen colonies, so weak, so poor, so defenceless, started into healthy life at once. The broken reed which had propped them up before, being cast aside, self-reliance became their habit, and gave them Herculean strength and vigor. Commerce burst from the shackles by which she had been restrained, and spread her wings to catch the breezes of every climate;—labor woke from its slumber;—enterprise, long bowed to the dust, lifted its head;—wealth sprung into being;—contentment and happiness prevailed. Population, before almost stationary, advanced with rapid strides. The infant nation, which came into being with three millions of inhabitants, has but little passed its threescore and ten years, yet it can count more than twenty millions,—or an increase of almost 500 per cent. from 1790, the first period of enumeration, to 1850. From 1840 to 1850, the increase was 6,194,035, or 36·28 per cent. In Europe the increase is below one and a half per cent. per annum; while in the United States, it is at the rate of three and a half per cent. Taking the past as a criterion, the United States, in

less than *forty years*, will have a population exceeding that of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland, combined! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The new Government, which went into operation in 1789, was surrounded with difficulties, growing out of the old state of affairs. A heavy public debt and disordered finances bore upon it with oppressive weight. But the genius of Hamilton and the prudence of Washington were equal to the task of bringing order out of chaos, and making clear and smooth the policy of future times. Production, under the guidance of the wise statesmen of that period, soon disclosed its capacities; imports rapidly gave their contributions to swell the public revenue, and embarrassments disappeared. In 1789, the receipts into the treasury, from all sources, were \$4,399,473; in 1851, with moderate duties, they reached the sum of \$52,312,979. From 1791 to 1851, exports had risen from \$19,012,041 to \$218,388,011, and imports from \$52,200,000 to \$216,224,932. In the same period, the mercantile tonnage of the Union was swelled from 502,146 to 3,772,349. The public debt has disappeared, and the important question now is, how to check the current which fills the treasury to overflowing, rather than to add to its volume. (*Great applause.*)

Territorial expansion has kept pace with, and contributed to promote the general prosperity. Until 1803, the Mississippi constituted the western boundary of the Republic, but now the waves of the Pacific break upon its shores;—the golden sands of California reflect the sunlight upon its banner, and freedom everywhere hails the progress of its dominion. (*Applause.*) By the treaty with France, concluded on the 30th of April, in that year, the domain of the United States was extended to almost twice its former limits. Florida was ceded by Spain in 1819, and Texas came into the Union by annexation in 1845. In 1848, New Mexico and California were added, making a total area of 3,306,805 square miles. The statistics of future years may, perchance, add to these figures, and show a still greater expansion of the area of freedom. (*Great applause.*) It is not for me to predict the course of destiny, nor can the world stop its onward progress. Time alone will manifest its purpose, and declare its triumph. (*Renewed applause.*)

The original thirteen States have been increased to thirty-one, all upon the same equal footing, under the protecting power of the same constitution, and alike blessed by the influences of its beneficent principles. No invidious distinction prevails;—no inferiority is recognized;—like stars of equal magnitude, the States move in their respective orbits, around a common centre, each contributing its part, to sustain the equilibrium and strength of the whole. The interests of California and Texas are just as dear and as fully respected as those of New York, Massachusetts, or South Carolina; for the interest of one is the interest of all. Equality is the pervading principle of American institutions; and no matter under what sky the citizen drew his first breath,—no matter to what part of the world his business or his pleasure may call him,—or in what quarter of the confederacy his residence may be, the broad ægis of a common Constitution is thrown over him for protection. (*Applause.*) There are no grades of American citizenship,—no colonists with inferior rights; but all stand upon the same wide platform before the law. Think you that Kozsta can ever regret his right to appeal to those stars and stripes as a security from Austrian dungeons?* (*Applause.*) Would the inhabitant of California, or Florida, or New Mexico,—whether of English, or Spanish, or aboriginal descent,—rely with less confidence upon the power of which those same stars and stripes are the glorious emblem? (*Renewed applause.*) Where would have been all this prosperity,—this ability to protect,—this right to enforce the respect of the world,—without independence and self-government? Let Canada answer!—(*Applause.*) Contrast her condition with that of New York and New England, and if you are not then satisfied, go to Australia or Tahiti, or if you please, to India, to learn the advantages of colonial dependence! (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

Most appropriate is your device, on this occasion, to represent the thirty-one free and sovereign States of the American Union. Each of them is personated by youth and beauty. What more suitable?—What idea could have been more happily conceived? Here are health and vigor, giving promise of maturer charms. Here is the rose-bud just bursting into bloom,—the opening flower giving forth its

*Mr. G. here pointed to the American flag.

first fragrance. In these ranks may be found the hope of many a home,—the joy of many a heart. Fortunate will it be, my young friends, if the future shall realize the brilliant promises held out by the present moment; and flourishing will be the communities you personate, if they may always claim such fair representatives, or boast such stout-hearted and valorous champions as attend you.* (*Great applause*)

It is not enough, on this festival, consecrated to Freedom, to contemplate the material structure alone, however fair it may be, or grand its proportions. It is also fit to look into the principles of its construction,—to examine the order of its architecture, and pay some tribute to the skill of the master workmen who reared it.

The Government of the United States was almost of necessity republican. The first inhabitants of the new world were pilgrims seeking an asylum from oppression in the wilderness; they brought to their new homes the spirit of equality, of justice, and of truth, rejecting altogether the social distinctions and usages which had occasioned their early misfortunes. The republican element of the British constitution alone was transplanted to the wilds of America, and there it grew up unchecked. Royalty and nobility were left behind, and though in the end, sought to be engrafted upon it, the want of affinity made the effort vain. Hence when the Revolution took place, the organization of society required but little change. The incubus of foreign dominion was cast off, and alien rulers were expelled, but in all else, the current of affairs moved along in the usual channels. The pilgrim fathers of New England, of Maryland, and of all the colonies, laid the foundation of republican institutions, broad, and deep and firm, long before their distinguishing principles were formally asserted in the Declaration of Independence. That instrument was the necessary sequence of the one executed in the cabin of the Mayflower, on the 20th of November, 1620. From that remote period, must be dated the commencement of republicanism in America. (*Applause.*)

But the patriots of 1776, did a necessary work in setting forth the

*In this portion of his remarks, Mr. Gregg addressed thirty-two young girls, the representatives of the different States and the District of Columbia. Each was dressed in white, with a wreath of flowers, and a scarf over the shoulder,—the name of the State represented in large gilt letters on the breast. The members of the Engine Company "Young America" attended them, constituting a guard of honor.

true doctrines of human rights and the proper objects of government. Humanity owes them an untold debt for their exalted patriotism and noble daring, and as future ages appear, new generations will rise up to bless them. A nobler band was never associated than the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In the hearts of their grateful descendants and countrymen, for all time, will the emotions of gratitude be felt, and the spread of freedom throughout the world, will swell the voice of benediction by which their names are greeted. They were in their day, styled rebels, and threatened with the punishment of traitors, but what minion of tyranny would now degrade himself by reproaching their memories! If their acts were treason, then patriotism is dishonorable and virtue criminal. Such treason is sanctified by religion and bears honors and not infamy as its reward. (*Great applause.*)

Where can be found a more plain and truthful statement of the ends of government than they exhibited? Man, they assert, is endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." To secure these rights, government is instituted. But whence does government derive its sanction? In what source, does its authority originate? From the *people* who are its subjects;— from the *people* whose interests it was created to subserve. Heaven has ordained that society shall be organized, and government exist, but it ordains no further. No form is prescribed, no system of administration preferred. To the people of all countries, rightfully belongs the choice of what best suits their condition. They are the parties in interest, and have the right to determine the character of their own political institutions. (*Applause.*)

Government then, being established for a particular end, it follows that when that end is not subserved, when the public interest is sacrificed, they may "alter or abolish it," and institute a new government, "laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers, in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." And moreover, "when a long train of abuses, and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce the people to absolute despotism, it is their right, *it is their duty* to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

Here is the true theory of government, and a just and proper estimate of its powers and duties. It disposes summarily of the absurd doctrine of the "Divine right of Kings" which grew up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and makes the people the legitimate source of all civil power. It places in society the right of appointing its own institutions, and declares that no man or class of men has a vested interest in the sovereignty of any country, and cannot properly hold it except as a sacred trust for the general good. (*Applause.*)

So far as the institution of government is concerned, the "Divine right" is in the people, and not in their servants, and of their agency in this respect, it may be truly said, "*vox populi, vox Dei.*" Particular forms are within their discretion;—all are legitimate with the popular sanction, and none without it. Americans prefer republicanism, and are firmly persuaded that it affords the highest amount of individual and social prosperity, but they are not propagandists except by example, and freely concede to others the same privilege which they have exercised—that of judging for themselves in what so intimately concerns their well being. (*Applause.*)

Had ambitious or unprincipled men been at the head of the revolution of 1776, its final results might have had a far different bearing upon the destinies of mankind. But Heaven in its wisdom combined in them, inflexible patriotism, with integrity above the allurements of ambition. Throughout the struggle, and on all occasions, they had less thought for themselves than for their country and posterity. There was Washington, prudent, just, and faithful, the able soldier, the wise statesman, the honest man,—the gift of Providence to his country,—a moral prodigy in the annals of the human race. (*Great and universal applause.*) He was no Cæsar;—had he been ambitious, an empire was within his reach,—a crown might have rested upon his brows, but he rejected the bauble with disdain, and laid aside his victorious sword to become a contented equal with his fellow citizens. (*Renewed applause.*) All honor to the name of Washington! What American can pronounce it without respect and veneration! What lover of freedom wherever he may be, does not make it a cherished household word! (*Continued applause.*)

Everywhere the memorials of this illustrious man call up the most

pleasing and grateful associations, but especially upon a foreign soil, as here, thousands of miles away from the theatre upon which he lived and died.

Tell me not there is superstition or folly in regarding with some degree of veneration, such memorials of the great and good. It springs from the purest and best feelings of the human heart,—it is founded upon the just respect which virtue and affection ought always to inspire. By that table which stands yonder in your sight, the immortal Washington once sat down. From it, he and La Fayette, his illustrious companion in arms, snatched a hasty repast on the 28th of June 1778, after the fatigues and toils of the battle of Monmouth were over.

It is now the cherished property of an American, resident in these Islands, in whose family it has ever been preserved as a sacred relic. Its presence here on this day is appropriate, and will not fail to excite in your minds more vivid recollections of the noble men with whose names it is associated.* (*General applause.*)

Besides Washington, there were in that noble band of patriots, an Adams, a Jefferson, a Madison, and a host of others whom proffered gold could not seduce, or empty titles bribe,—men whose talents and virtues would anywhere have secured them far more respect than obsequious loyalty is accustomed to pay to hereditary imbecility.—(*Applause.*) No betrayer stood in their ranks. But one Judas disgraced the revolutionary councils, and he had gone to those who hugged the traitor, while at heart they loathed his treason. Arnold had pocketed the bounty of his infamy, and flourished a royal commission in the presence of soldiers and gentlemen, who it must be admitted, could but illy brook the degradation of such an association. When presented to Lord Balcarras by George the third, at a royal levee, soon after the revolution, the honest old nobleman, drawing himself up to his proudest height, exclaimed, even in the face of majesty, “What, the traitor Arnold!” and turning upon his heel, left

* Mr. G. alluded to a small tea-table, the property of C. W. Vincent, Esq., of Honolulu, who received it as a present from his mother on a late visit to New Jersey. His great-grand-mother, Greenleaf, spread a repast upon it for Washington and La Fayette, on the evening of June 28th, 1778, of which they both partook. It was carried conspicuously in the procession on the 4th, and while Mr. G. referred to it, one of the Marshals of the day, held it in the view of the whole audience.

the miserable wretch to contemplate the depth to which he had fallen. Thus it is ever, when a just cause is deserted from motives of gain or ambition. Baseness is always held in abhorrence by mankind and can never enjoy in peace the reward of its conduct. What wealth or honor can compensate for such execrations as the world heaps upon Judas, and Arnold, the most infamous of all the names recorded in history ! The one sold his God for thirty pieces of silver, the other, bargained for the independence of his country, at the price of thirty thousand pounds, and a commission as Brigadier-General in the enemy's service. If a distinction can be drawn, let it be in favor of Judas, who at least possessed a conscience, and had the grace to hang himself out of remorse for his crime ! (*Long continued applause.*)

The work which came from the hands of the revolutionary patriots was unsoiled by dishonor, and without mercenary taint. Had it been otherwise, humanity would have mourned its clouded hopes, and freedom sighed to find its chosen empire subverted. The Federal Constitution is the grand and enduring monument of their wisdom. Thirteen independent states had rescued at the bayonet's point, their sovereignty from the grasp of tyranny, but each stood upon its own footing ; each held within itself all the elements of national power. Mere alliance, as under the articles of confederation, wanted that central energy which mutual interest demanded. Something more was necessary to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare," and secure to posterity forever the blessings of liberty. Mutual wants prompted mutual concord, and as an arch in the temple of peace, fashioned by the craftsman's skill, the Union sprung up, cemented like the Egyptian pyramids, into a magnificent structure, which no succession of storms can disintegrate, or tempest overthrow. (*Applause.*)

Let us look for a moment at some of its prominent features. One and all the states, so far as concerns their domestic affairs, are sovereign and independent of each other. Each legislates for and governs itself,—each has its judicial tribunals, its executive and subordinate officers, its public treasury, its revenues, its improvements, its schools, its local policy, and over them exercises supreme control. The Fed-

eral Government is only supreme within the range of powers delegated by the states. In this sense, it is their creature, the agent which they have appointed to promote their mutual interests. To its care, the management of foreign relations is exclusively confided ;—the military and naval forces are under its jurisdiction ;—harbors and defences are constructed by its authority ;—in short, whatever is of a general nature, concerning the Union at large, is within the province of the Federal Government. All else is precisely as it would have been had the old confederacy remained in force. Strength, dignity and independence are guaranteed to the Union, and yet to each of the states is secured the most valuable prerogatives which sovereignty can confer. (*Applause.*) Texas in becoming one of the United States, though before an independent nation, retained for all domestic purposes, the full authority which she had always exercised, and even now, most of her laws stand precisely the same as when the lone star was displayed upon her banner. But what did she gain ? Was she not weak and almost powerless ? Where were her fleets and armies, her revenues and credit ? What was her rank among the nations ? She lost *not even her name*, in the change which took place ; the people forfeited no right which they before enjoyed. But she gained the protection of a powerful nation ;—she made its strength her own ;—She has ships and soldiers, and treasures in connection with her confederate sisters, and as a member of the Union, holds a far higher rank, than alone she could ever have aspired to reach. (*Applause.*)

The territories of the United States are not colonies or mere dependencies. (*Applause.*) We have no such system as our fathers, for just reasons, abandoned. We neither acknowledge nor exact political servitude. Hence, our territories are not in the position of menials, but their condition is rather that of favored children, who are vexed with no burthens, provided with whatever is necessary to meet their wants, and properly educated to fill the exalted station which awaits them. (*Great applause.*)

As the government rests directly upon the will of the people, which is frequently expressed through the ballot box, its policy is more directed to the general good, than is possible where social distinctions make it necessary to provide for the separate interests of different classes. All such distinctions are carefully excluded, all hereditary

privileges rejected. The old law of primogeniture is abolished,—a law derived from feudalism and unworthy to stand in the light of civilization. Children of the same family are regarded as equals, and the natural affections suffered to flow on in their true and proper channels. (*Applause.*)

There is no blight upon society more fatal than that known as the law of primogeniture;—no system so destructive to equality of condition among men. Where immense fortunes are built up, and perpetuated from one generation to another, the community is necessarily divided into two classes,—the rich and the poor; the one aristocratic, haughty and overbearing,—the other subservient, degraded and miserable. What state of things can be imagined more deplorable than this, where millions toil on forever in hopeless poverty, to earn the scanty subsistence which depraved and wanton luxury grudgingly doles out to drive gaunt famine from their hovels! Think you that Heaven thus designed its bounties to be distributed? Were not rather its gifts intended for all, and has not man abused the mercies of the Creator? The day of retribution will come at length, as sure as an impartial Judge sits on the throne of the Universe, when Lazarus will take something more than the portion of dogs, and share, as he ought, in the munificence of his Maker. (*Enthusiastic applause.*) The air which surrounds us,—the water which rolls to the ocean, are free to all, and why should any portion of the human race be debarred from acquiring a right in the soil on which their homes are built, and from which their subsistence is derived. (*Renewed applause.*)

Thank God, that American institutions know no such system of foul iniquity as that to which I refer! They encourage industry,—they promote enterprise,—they favor the acquisition of wealth and protect its enjoyment. But they do not, and they never will lend their sanction to build up classes or families, or perpetuate the luxuries of Dives to the oldest descendant of his name. (*Applause.*) They recognise the perfect equality of all citizens, and the humblest is as much within their protection as the highest. The President, with all the honors of his station, stands before the law, as the equal and no more, of the poorest and lowliest of his countrymen, and the wheel of fortune, which to-day has elevated him to power, may, at its next turn, place the latter in the same position.' (*Great applause.*) The

avenues of wealth and honor are closed to men of no class or condition. The pursuit of fortune is free to all, and there are none who may not, if they will, possess their own homes and firesides, not in dependance upon others, as a serf upon his lord, but in their own right, free, unquestioned and perpetual. (*Increased applause.*)

The rights of conscience are respected, and the citizen of the United States may bend his knee in worship of the Supreme Being, at such altar as his own free choice shall dictate. Be he Pagan or Christian, Turk or Jew, he stands upon the same footing, responsible to God alone, and not to man, for the form of the service he renders up to Him. It is the peculiar glory of American institutions that they first recognized this grand principle in human government. The alliance of Church and State is fraught with evils to both. Religion needs not the aid of civil power to support its holy mission. It is clothed with the panoply of truth, and scorns the sword, the dungeon and the fagot. These are not the appropriate weapons of its warfare upon earth,—they are charity and love; and where such weapons fail, human laws may make hypocrites, but never Christians. (*Applause.*)

Liberty of speech and of the press stands among the dearest privileges of the American citizen. He acknowledges no censorship to place a curb upon thought, or to bridle the tongue. He confides in public sentiment to correct abuses; and experience shows that, in this respect, an educated people may be safely trusted.

Education has done more for American society in half a century, than swords and bayonets and dungeons have accomplished for Europe in ages. (*Great applause.*) An intelligent and virtuous people will, in the end, be free; and no state of freedom can long be maintained without intelligence. Education is the best sentinel to keep guard in the citadel of Liberty, and no surprise need be feared when the common school turns out its generations of soldiers and statesmen. (*Applause.*) The common schools of the United States are justly regarded with pride by every American, and are more to be cherished, as seminaries for the people, than the college or university, whose benefits are dispensed within a narrower range.

All these advantages of free institutions have been placed within the reach of the world. No narrow or bigoted policy has closed the

doors of freedom to the stranger. The altars of liberty are thronged with worshippers from every land, and none are thrust back from the sanctuary of the temple, who sincerely wish to offer up the incense of a pure homage. In every State of the Union are heard, as here to-day, the strong, clear voices of men of Teutonic race, discoursing the sweetest music of Freedom's melodies. (*Applause.*) In every city and village, throughout America, the Celt and the German are assembled to-day, with the sons of the soil, to listen to the Declaration of Independence, ready with one accord to swear with uplifted hand before heaven, to shed their blood in defence of its principles. (*Renewed applause.*)

The experience of more than half a century has demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government, and established the just right of the United States to be regarded as the "Model Republic." (*Great applause.*) The apprehensions of friends have been quieted,—the predictions of enemies falsified, and the impartial man of every nation must bear testimony in favor of American institutions. I know there are those who still prate about the inefficiency of our system,—who tell us of its tendency to corruption, and gloat over any high party excitement, or any occasional disorder which may arise in any part of the confederacy, as an evidence that the glorious fabric of our national Union is to be rent in twain. With them "the wish is father to the thought." They could not judge truly and fairly if they would. Prejudice has blinded their eyes, and like Saul of Tarsus, they "kick against the pricks." (*Great applause.*)

"All seems infected that the infected spy,

As all looks yellow to the jaundiced eye." (*Renewed applause.*)

As a people, we doubtless have our faults; and who is without them? There may be some few rough points in our character, over which the chisel of the sculptor could be driven with advantage; but I take it upon me to say, that the very imperfections with which our venerable step-mother is most accustomed to reproach us, were created by her own kind and affectionate requirements, and ingrained into our nature by her precepts, when she claimed us as obedient and useful children, in performing the drudgery of her household. (*Much applause.*)

But no matter how this point may be settled, it is an existing fact that we rank among the great maritime powers of the world, and are

rapidly advancing to be the first of them all. Our policy is peace, and upon its preservation our prosperity in a great measure depends. In the wars of European governments, or in the causes which produce them, we have no concern, and do not seek to interfere. The balance of power on the Eastern Continent may vibrate as it will, we are not affected by it. It is true, our sympathies may be excited by the hard fate of brave and generous people, who are trodden down by unholy combinations,—their life-blood crushed out by the iron heel of oppression. We had a tear for the misfortunes of Poland,—a regret when a detested Bourbon dynasty was by force imposed upon France; and still can pity the miseries of the Magyar and the Celt. (*Applause.*)

But beyond the manifestation of sympathy we have not presumed to go, and it is but fair to claim that the same forbearance which we have exercised, shall be displayed by the powers of Europe, in regard to affairs in the Western hemisphere. The American nations are fully competent to take care of their own interests, and if they are wise, they will brook no interference from abroad. (*Applause.*) If combinations be made to overawe or dictate, or enter into arrangements contrary to their wishes, let them be met in the spirit of defiance, and if need be, by the sword. (*Great applause.*) The United States have already taken their ground upon this point, and they will maintain it. By position and by strength, they have the right to a controlling voice in whatever concerns American policy, and this right they will not surrender at the dictation of any power or coalition upon earth. (*Applause.*) The time for European colonization in America and the contiguous islands, in both oceans, has gone by, and can never return. No more European colonies,—no more European protectorates,—no more European interventions should henceforth be allowed to exist within the proper range of American influence. (*Enthusiastic applause.*) Why should Europe be permitted to interfere upon American soil, or prescribe to the Government of the Union the bounds of its action? The East affords a theatre wide enough for moderate ambition, and the West desires with the East only the fellowship of peace and commerce.

We are free, we are independent, we are not without strength; and we will act as becomes a free people;—moreover, other nations must

respect our rights, and find, if unfortunately they are disposed to intermeddle in our affairs, that there is an ability and a will to resist their pretensions. The "Monroe doctrine," as it is called, is the true American doctrine,—the doctrine of "Old America" and "Young America,"—in short, the well-considered and well-grounded doctrine of the "Universal Yankee Nation." (*Great applause.*) On this doctrine there is no distinction of party; and if there should ever be occasion to support it, in regard to the American Continent or its adjacent islands, you will find among us, young and old, but one voice, one determination, one inflexible purpose. (*Applause.*)

I have spoken freely and strongly, but I trust with proper courtesy, and as becomes an American. The American citizen has no occasion for reserve or concealment in whatever concerns his country, her policy and institutions. It is not his appropriate part, at home or in foreign countries, to

"Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
Where thrift may follow fawning."

Let him speak boldly, and act boldly, on all suitable occasions, as a freeman ought to speak and act, conceding to others the respect and deference to which they are justly entitled, but not a particle more. (*Great applause.*) Meekness is a virtue, and in its proper place entitled to admiration, but the American who would only speak in subdued and feeble tones of his country's honor, or listen to reproaches upon her fair name, is a craven at heart, without the manhood of the savage. (*Renewed applause.*)

There is in our history, no long catalogue of dark antecedents to make us blush for our country. Her fame is spotless, her banner unsullied, and every star upon her escutcheon radiant with the purest light. Who then is ashamed to stand up in any presence, and say he is an American? What man is there among you all, whose veins do not throb with quicker and stronger pulsations, at the sound of those strains which tell him of his childhood's home, his native land? (*Applause.*)

We are far away from our early homes,—an ocean separates us from the land of our birth. We stand upon a foreign, but a hospitable soil, to whose sons our countrymen first brought the blessings of civili-

zation, and pointed out the hopes of Heaven. We can feel that we are not altogether aliens and sojourners, for on every side we behold our own long-cherished institutions, transplanted from American shores, and destined, we may trust, in no dim distance in the future, to a still more healthy and vigorous growth. (*Great applause.*)

At home we may sometimes be unmindful of the full extent of the blessings we enjoy. But abroad it is far different. On foreign shores, contrast enables us to see in all the vivid colors of reality, the present advantages, and higher hopes of a free people.

At all times, I have loved my country with a sincere and exalted affection. I have ever rejoiced in her prosperity, and looked forward to the time when she would stand first in power and dignity, as she did in the freedom and happiness of her children. But never, till her coasts receded from my sight in the ocean distance, could I realize the intensity of my love, or the full extent of my gratitude to God for placing it in my power to boast that I was an American citizen. (*Applause.*) And as I stood in foreign countries, and contrasted their condition with the prosperity and order I had left behind me, I felt that the wealth and honors of the universe could not tempt me to lay aside that proud title, or separate myself forever, from "my own, my native land." I looked upon its star-embazoned banner with new emotions of delight and was ready to swear eternal hostility to those who would degrade it. (*Renewed Applause.*)

Such, fellow-citizens of the United States, has been your experience as well as mine. The further we go from our country, the more our love springs up, the more is our patriotism excited, and the more ardent are our wishes for its prosperity.

There is no time, or place, or circumstance, which can make us forget our origin, or diminish the regard which we owe to our common mother. Wherever the American ensign is displayed, we will rally around it, and welcome the ample protection which it affords. (*Applause.*) Wherever its folds float in the breeze, at home or abroad, upon the land or on the ocean, we shall be ready to raise our hands and exclaim,

“ Flag of the free hearts’ only home,
 By angel hands to valor given !
 Thy stars shall light the welkin dome,
 For all thy hues were born in Heaven !”
(Great applause.)

Nay, still more than this ! In the spirit of confidence which admits no doubt, of resolute determination which never pauses but in victory we will add our invocation that its lustre may be forever undimmed, —its stars for ever unclouded.

“ Forever float that standard sheet !
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
 With freedom’s soil beneath our feet,
 And freedom’s banner streaming o’er us !”

(Enthusiastic and long-continued applause, after which nine cheers were proposed for the Orator, and heartily given.)







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